3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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payment of at least a part of the fixed bride-price of three cows and a bull, or their equivalent. The essential responsibility for the performance of these two acts lies with the bridegroom's father or father's heir, subject to the formal consent of the elders of his inner lineage. Formally, the bride's paternal kin send their invitation to the bridegroom's paternal kin to *lu sɛndaan* through the head of the latter's nuclear or inner lineage, and make their demands for bride-price through the same channels; for no jural act takes place except in the framework of the lineage system. But actually the responsibility for satisfying the bride's kin falls on the bridegroom's father. He must 'find the things'—the fowls and guinea-fowls—for the placation gifts; he must send off the intermediary (*pɔɣasama*) who carries them to the bride's family; he must furnish the animals or goods or money to pay the bride-price. 'Is it not his child? (*Pa u biiga*)' say the natives, implying that this is a duty arising out of the fact of parenthood. In part it is a specific duty; in part it is an aspect of a general responsibility that a man bears for his son's jural relations. Thus if his son's wife is abducted it is the father who calls on the other members of his inner lineage to stand by him in taking action to recover the wife. If his son has abducted another man's wife the father is directly answerable. Strictly speaking a son cannot contract a debt involving heritable property such as cattle or large sums of money without his father's authorization. Even if the son is a man of substance, a wise creditor will insist that his father's (and also his brothers' of the same nuclear lineage) consent to the transaction be obtained first and made known to him. If this is not done the creditor's chances of recovery are small. It becomes a question of one man's word against another's and Tallensi are past masters in the art of putting off a creditor. The concurrence of the debtor's father and brothers fixes liability for ever, and if the debtor dies before settling the debt his father, or his heir, is liable. These rules do not apply to small sums of money, say a shilling or two, or things of small value such as a hen or a loin-cloth. But petty borrowing and lending rarely takes place between people who are not friends or close kin, and it is thus generally fitted into the scheme of reciprocal aid that obtains between friends and kinsfolk.

In their jural aspect these obligations of a father arise from the fact of 'begetting (*dɔɣam*)'; in their economic aspect they are greatly influenced by the principle of reciprocity. Where obligations of such great social consequence are involved, the principle of reciprocity is not limited to particular individuals but it binds their heirs and successors as well owing to the operation of the lineage principle. One or two cases will show how these two aspects are interwoven.

While Tampɔyar was courting his wife he had very little recourse to his proxy father's help. The few shillings he had received from selling ground-nuts and a fowl or two sufficed to provide the occasional penny

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for them to Sayabo. This was the main reason why he was ready to meet Sayabo's bride-price debt immediately. There was also a religious sanction in the background. Had he refused to support the youth, Galəmɔyar's spirit would have become angry. He would have gone to their father's spirit and protested against the ill-treatment his son was receiving at his brother's hands, and the father would have punished Nyaaŋzum.

In the same way the father is the person who bears the essential jural responsibility for his son if the latter commits adultery. Though the negotiations for the reconciliation with the offended lineage or clan are carried out through the head of the inner lineage or medial lineage or even wider lineage segment to which the wrongdoer belongs, the animals sacrificed in the reconciliation rites are provided by his father.

Similarly a father is responsible for his son in all ritual matters in which the son is concerned as a member of the lineage or as the person through whom his father's line is perpetuated. A man is responsible to the ancestor spirits for performing the rites by which his child, boy or girl, is placed under the mystical care of a spirit guardian (*sɛyər*). It is the father's duty to provide the flour, beer, fowls, guinea-fowls, or other animals needed for these rites. If a child gets ill, its father has the duty of consulting a diviner and is obliged to provide any money, animals, or other goods that may be needed for the sacrifices to the ancestors, the treatment, and the payment of the medicine owner. Of course, if it is his own child a man does not think of such obligations as a duty but rather feels them to be a natural action of love and solicitude. But I have known cases where a proxy child was concerned in which the proxy father was less moved by affection than by his sense of duty and fear of mystical retribution. Among the Hill Talis it is a father's duty to provide the animals, flour, and beer required for his son's initiation into the External *Bɔyar* cult. And, to complete this catalogue of examples, a father must take the initiative and provide the 'things' needed for the rites of exorcism, if his son is persecuted by an evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*). If his daughter-in-law is the sufferer, he must request her father to come and perform the exorcism and must provide the contributions due from the girl's husband's family.

The mutual rights and duties of parents and children among the Tallensi have a feature of particular interest which has already been indicated in the course of our analysis, but deserves further notice. They can be used as weapons of coercion by one side against the other, the principle of reciprocity being turned into an *ad hoc* sanction. The case of Tampɔyar illustrates how a son can make use of the fact that his working power is essential for the household economy to force his father to get him a wife. This sanction is openly admitted by fathers. One day at Yinduuri I came upon a group of men engaged in a vehement argument. In the middle of the group was a man whose leg was badly